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take the place of heavy rope. The latter are considered better than rope for very heavy work, such as the erection of memorial stones.

DWELLINGS

In describing Tanala dwellings it is necessary to distinguish sharply between the Zafimaniry and the rest of the tribe. The former still live, for the most part, in strongly built wooden houses identical with those used by the Betsileo in ancient times. They are beginning to adopt mud houses, like those of the modern plateau natives. The other Tanala gentes build their dwellings of bamboo, leaves of the Traveler's Palm, etc., and show no tendency to adopt the mud houses. In this they conform to the culture pattern of the east coast tribes.

All Tanala houses are grouped in villages. This was originally a defensive measure, but even now, when the danger of attack has ceased, they show no tendency to live in isolated families.

Tanala dwellings, aside from those of the Zafimaniry, show only minor differences. In general, those of the northern gentes are rather larger and better built than those of the southern ones. All the houses are rectangular and oblong, with gabled roofs. The average dwelling is about 20 feet long by 10 to 12 feet wide, but the dimensions vary greatly. The interior height is usually 10 to 12 feet at the ridgepole and 5 to 6 feet at the walls. The houses are always oriented with their long axes north and south.

The entire house is raised on posts, the floor being 18 inches to 2 feet above ground at the closest point. As houses are often built on steep slopes, the clearance may be as much as 6 feet at the lower end. The space between the posts is often filled in with stones, to prevent enemies from crawling under and spearing the inhabitants through the floor. A rectangular enclosure of planks or bamboo, near the south end, supports a block of earth which rises to the level of the floor and serves as a fireplace.

The framework of the house usually consists of three main timbers, one at either end and one in the center, a ridgepole, corner posts, stringers at the top and bottom of the walls, rafters and door frames. Another type of framework may be seen in the accompanying drawing (Fig. 18, e). Except for the stringers and door frames, the timbers are simply peeled, not dressed. The main vertical timbers are usually planted in the ground.

The floor is made from planks or from a mat of split and flattened bamboos woven in checkerwork (see Matting and Basketry). Beside

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342 the fireplace a short section of large bamboo is usually fastened vertically, with its top flush with the floor. This serves as a drain for pouring out dish water and small scraps of food. The walls are made from bamboo mats, rushes, or midribs of Traveler's Palm leaves. The rushes or midribs are skewered side by side on long slivers of bamboo and pressed closely together, so that they are almost air-tight. The material is made up in large panels, which are then trimmed to fit the wall. These wall panels are attached to the inside of the timbers, so that the inner walls of the house are smooth and unbroken while the framework is visible on the outside.

The rafters are made from small bamboos, about 2 inches in diameter, which are lashed to the ridgepole and wall plates. They extend out about 2 feet over the walls, forming eaves. The roof is heavily thatched with leaves of the Traveler's Palm. The leaves are folded together along the midrib and laid on horizontally, overlapping like shingles. They are sewn to the rafters with strips of bark, a bamboo needle being used (Fig. 18, a). Grass is used for thatching in a few places. Across the south end of the house, on a level with the tops of the walls, there is a deep shelf of bamboo. This is used as a storage place.

There are always two and sometimes three doors. These are about 5 feet high and 2 feet 3 inches wide, extending down to the floor. The main doorway is in the west side, near the southern end. Directly in front of it is the fireplace. The second door is in the eastern side, near the north end. The third, if there is a third, is in the middle of the north wall. The northeastern and northern doors are opened for light and ventilation but are rarely used for entrance. The door itself is made from a stiff panel of bamboo woven in wicker work. It rests against the inside of the door jambs, with its lower edge on the floor. Doors are only fastened when the owner is absent. A string is fastened to the center of the door and its other end attached to a stick which is wedged across the jambs on the outside.

354 In cold weather, the walls of the house are lined with rush mats which are fastened up with bamboo pins (Fig. 18, b). Similar mats are used to cover the floor, except immediately around the 352 fireplace. The only furniture consists of matting stools (Fig. 13, b) and there are rarely more than one of these in a house, such seats being reserved for guests and family heads. The beds are simple mats which are unrolled on the floor at night and put away in the daytime. In a few places, tent-like mosquito nets of raffia cloth

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352 are in use. These are made from three long strips of cloth sewn together side by side and at the ends. They are hung from the rafters and reach to the floor, the lower edges being tucked in under the sleeping mat.

342 The Tanala houses are comfortable and well adapted to the climate, the only disadvantage being that they are rather smoky. 356 The fire is kept going constantly, and in time the rafters and inside of the thatch become thoroughly blackened. For some reason, perhaps the general humidity, this smoke deposit is as glossy as black lacquer and gives a really decorative effect. Most of the houses are kept scrupulously clean. The floor mats are changed frequently, and the whole house swept at least once a day. Brooms made from palm splints and dust pans of matting are employed (Fig. 18, c, d).

342 There seem to be no special ceremonies attendant on house building or on first entering the new house, although the work is usually begun on an auspicious day. One informant mentioned a charm for house building, but I could not learn its composition or how it was used.

The Zafimaniry dwellings are also rectangular and are oriented in the same way as those of the rest of the tribe, but they are greatly superior in workmanship and solidarity (Fig 18, g). They seem to be identical with the houses used by the Betsileo at the beginning of the historic period, and the Zafimaniry no doubt brought the type with them when they fled from the plateau.

The houses are rather small, the largest rarely being more than 15 feet long, and are rather wide in proportion to their length, some being almost square. They are usually built on terraces or on stone-faced earth platforms 18 inches to 2 feet 6 inches high. If on a terrace, a ditch 18 inches wide and of the same depth is dug round the [361] house about 2 feet out from the walls, for drainage. The disposition of the houses in villages is very irregular and hardly two will be at the same level.

335 All the main timbers are made of hard wood and are carefully 342 squared and dressed. The three main posts are oblong in section, 3 to 4 inches thick and 8 to 10 inches wide at the base, tapering to about 6 inches wide at the top. They are firmly planted in the ground at either end and in the center of the house, their broad faces being at right angles to its long axis. The center post is usually slightly larger than the other two. Their tops are deeply notched to receive the ridgepole, which is also of hard wood, round, and about 4 inches

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in diameter. The height of the ridgepole varies, but is usually 12 to 15 feet. 342 335

The walls are supported by four corner posts about 5 inches square and 5 to 6 feet high, which are also planted in the earth. These are connected by heavy stringers at the top and bottom. The stringers are 4 to 6 inches wide and 3 to 4 inches thick, and are placed with their broad faces vertical. They are cut into tenons at the ends and mortised into the corner posts. The walls are made from alternate thick and thin strips of wood. The former are of the same thickness as the stringers and 3 to 4 inches wide. They are mortised into the stringers at the top and bottom and grooved along the sides to receive the edges of the alternate thin strips. These are only ½ to ¾ inch thick, with an exposed face of the same width as the wide strips. They are set in between the wide strips with their ends resting in grooves in the stringers (Fig. 18, f).

All the posts, stringers, wall boards, etc., in a given house are of the same dimensions throughout and carefully finished. The work shows a regularity almost equal to that of good European carpentry. The joining is extraordinarily good. Each piece is fitted and adjusted before it is put in place and the joints are so close that neither air nor light is admitted. The tenons and mortises are so exact that no pins or lashings are required. The entire house can readily be knocked down and reassembled on a new site and apparently this was sometimes done when new villages were established.

The gable ends of the house, above the walls, are filled with mats of split and woven bamboo. These are double, with a layer of clay or cow dung between to make them air tight. In the southern gable, high up, there is usually a smoke hole, framed with wood and closed with a wooden shutter (Fig. 19, a). Rarely, the gable ends are thatched, a few strips of bamboo being fastened across over the thatch to keep it in place. 342

The roof is rather steeply pitched. The rafters are made from small bamboos or peeled saplings, reinforced with transverse pieces of bamboo at intervals. The roof is sometimes thatched with leaves of the Traveler's Palm or grass, but is more commonly composed of several layers of bamboos. These are split, flattened, and bent over the ridgepole, their ends extending down to the eaves. The eaves are very narrow, extending only 3 or 4 inches beyond the house walls.

Planks are often fastened against the roof at either end with the broad face out. This serves to confine the thatch and also to protect it from the wind. In the Betsileo houses, these planks cross at the

342 peak of the roof and project about 3 feet above it. They are pointed, or carved into graceful curves, like horns. I never saw this among the Zafimaniry, but informants said it sometimes occurred. The points represent the horns of cattle, but none of my informants knew why they were used, or attached other than a decorative significance to them.

The standard house has eight windows, most of which are never opened. There are two in each wall, placed rather nearer the ends than the center. Some of the more recent houses depart from this plan, limiting the number to two or three. The main window, which is used for entrance, is near the southern end of the west wall. All the windows are usually of the same size and construction. They are square, about 2 feet 6 inches on a side, with a well-made frame and a solid wooden door turning on pin hinges. The sill is 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet above ground. Stone pillars about 6 inches in diameter and 18 inches high, or sections of tree trunk, are planted just inside and outside the entrance window to serve as steps. These are called *tokonana*. The use of such a doorway requires a good deal of agility, but the natives say that the high sills serve to keep pigs, etc., out of the house and small children in. They also give the householder a great advantage in case of attack.

The windows open inward and are secured by heavy wooden bolts sliding under cleats. The southwestern window is provided with a crude sort of lock. The center of the bolt is cut into a series of squares with ridges between. In the jamb of the window, or sometimes in the shutter itself, there is a small hole. On leaving the house, the householder inserts a curved iron (Fig. 19, c) through this hole, catches its point on one of the ridges carved on the bolt, and slides the bolt home. Security during his absence is assured by varying the distance of the bolt from the hole, so that too long or too short a key will not work.

The northern half of the house is usually ceiled with transverse rafters. These rest on the top of the wall. Over the rafters bamboos are laid longitudinally. They are often covered with first a layer of grass and then a layer of clay, making a strong, smooth floor. The attic formed in this way is really a small room, high enough in the center for a man to stand erect. It is used for storage of all sorts, [417] but never for sleeping. The attic is reached by a ladder made from a notched log (*tohatra*) or, less frequently, by notches cut in the center post of the house. The foot of the ladder is usually planted immediately in front of the entrance to the house.

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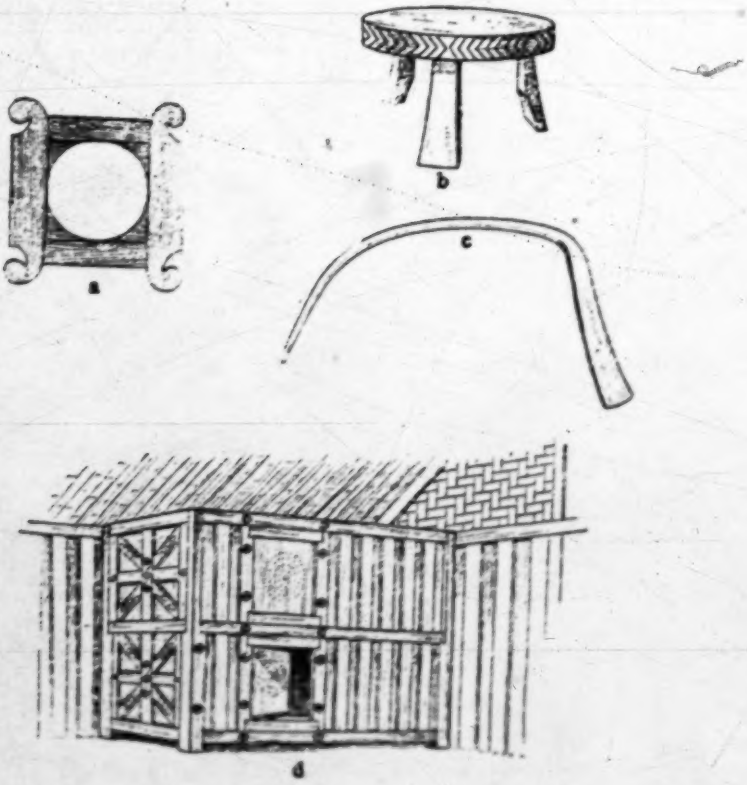

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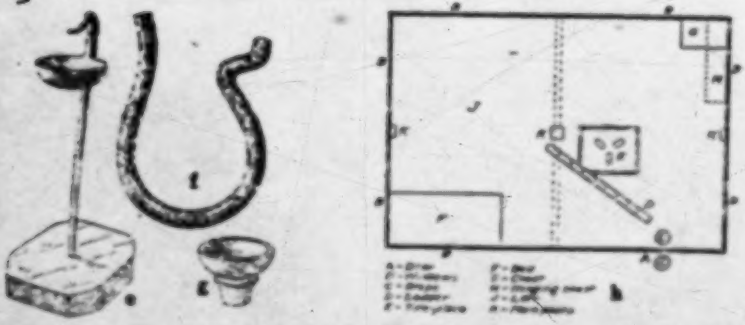

FIG. 19. Furniture. a, Smoke hole; b, Wooden Stool; c, Key; d, Wooden Bed; e, Iron Lamp; f, Hanger; g, Clay Lamp; h, Ground Plan of House.

621 787 777 the path. That at Ambohimanga, the former capital of the Tanal Menabe, was made from various leaves buried in the earth. Ove this a large-leaved plant, also called the *konasy*, was planted. Eac year the top of the plant was cut off and the bark scraped from th stump for 2 or 3 inches below. The right ear of an ox wa cut and blood from it rubbed on the stump. Leaves were plucke from the plant, pounded, and mixed with water which was give to the ox to drink. The ox was the property of the village *ombias* and the same one was used each year. After this inoculation th ox was turned loose in the forest. The ox was restless, wanderin constantly, and whenever he crossed the trail of an enemy coming t attack the village he would begin bellowing and would come at one to the *konasy* and stand there bellowing. The direction from whic he came showed that from which the enemy was coming and th villagers would have time to prepare for the attack.

777 342 In addition to the types of charms just outlined there wer charms to bless houses and bring fortune to their inhabitants. Thes were buried on the site before the house was built.

825 777 The crocodiles in the Manandriana River were rendered innocuou by a charm thrown into the river long ago. The *fady* for this charm was that in crossing the river one must paddle with a spade or ax instead of a regular paddle and that one must not wash a *lamb mena* ("shroud") in it. So long as these rules were observed the croco diles did no damage, but they have been ignored since the coming of the French, with the result that crocodiles now carry off domestic animals, although they still do not attack people.

The native name for charms in general is *tamango*, *mohara* o *ody*, the terms being used interchangeably.

HEALING

755 One of the principal duties of the *ombiasy* is healing. When a person becomes ill he goes to the *ombiasy*, or sends for him, and pays an advance fee of 1.20 to 1.50 francs, arranging at the same time for a larger fee to be paid after the cure. The *ombiasy* makes the *sikidy* to learn the cause of the illness and prescribes from his knowledge, or, if the case is not clear, makes the *sikidy* a second time to find the remedy. The remedy is usually a mixture of herbs, compounded as a charm. Part of the charm is put in water. The sick person drinks some of this and bathes his whole body with the rest. Another part of the medicine is done up in a little cloth bag and worn around the patient's neck. There is always a *fady* which the patient